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ground of the issues before the Paris conference, a fine humanitarian impulse, and his wonderful gift for dispassionate analysis and judgment. It will be tremendously helpful to every one seeking light upon what was done at Paris and guidance in the supplementary and corrective steps that must be taken, to have the mature wisdom at hand of this wonderful old man of letters and diplomacy.

With the disarmament conference coming on and the strong possibility that it will expand its service beyond the consideration of disarmament proper and of the Far Eastern questions into the field of world readjustment and reorganization, the Bryce lectures should have a splendid clarifying influence. And in the primary business of the conference, that of effecting disarmament, new strength will be given to those trying to achieve this vastly important result by such simple, yet impressive, words as Lord Bryce used, in his address of August 9, to show the futility of the old system of international methods and the corrective work yet to be done.

"It was nervousness and tremulousness [said Lord Bryce] which led the greater European States to increase from year to year their naval and military armaments, till in 1914 there were some who seemed to wish for war in the hope that the decision it was to bring would put an end to costly preparations for it. The price has been paid and the result desired has not been attained."

Those words, simple as they are, constitute an indictment of the old system that even a child can understand. Picture it! No rational government for the world; every nation nervously watching its neighbors; every nation becoming more "jumpy" as it watched; more and more armaments and vaster outlays of money; until finally some of those suffering under the system craved the cataclysm of war as a cure. The *reductio ad absurdum* in international affairs, if ever it appeared, if we may think of so terrible a blow to literally millions of homes and peace-loving people, caught in the mesh of hellish circumstances, as properly to be termed absurd. And, as Lord Bryce points out so concisely and yet so powerfully, even the inconceivable price paid has not yet yielded the remedy.

To pass to another phase of Lord Bryce's comment, there is something of the sanity-restoring quality of the broad sunlight in his words regarding the habitual attitude of peoples toward one another. When he said that "each people is much more apt to disparage the merits of others," and that this "habit, odious in private between individual men, passes uncensured in practice toward a foreign people, because each people likes to find grounds for believing in its own superiority," he preached a sermon that all the nations would do well to take to heart, ours no less than the others. It will contribute mightily

toward understanding and peace between nations if there can be established, in their attitude toward each other, something of the mutual respect, and something of the self-examination in connection with judging others, that prevails among gentlemen in their individual relations. We have referred elsewhere to the desirability of Americans thinking of the West Virginia industrial war, of the Georgia peonage, and of the Tulsa riots, when they sit themselves in judgment upon Mexico. That will serve as an illustration of the remedy for the fault that Lord Bryce finds between peoples—a fault as odious between peoples as he has truly stated it to be between individuals.

Lest it be thought that the tendency in the addresses before the Institute of Politics was condemnatory, attention should be called to the first address by Count Paul Teleky, on "The Place of Hungary in European History." There is cause for rejoicing in American hearts in his statement that "the unusual spirit which has dominated the diplomacy of the United States in Hungary since the armistice has been encouraging to us. The thought uppermost in the minds of your representatives has obviously been that hostilities have ceased. The foundation for a new departure in diplomacy is here, and one in the development of which small nations have a vital interest. One of your diplomatists, in describing that policy to me, said that it 'aimed at such a development of international relations that co-operation would supplant destructive rivalry as the dominating idea of diplomacy.'" It is an agreeable thought for the masses of the American people that their representatives are so accurately interpreting in their dealings with Hungary the finest purpose of the best American intelligence and character.

## THE LESSON OF WEST VIRGINIA

OUR JINGOES, who are so ready to have this country rush troops into Mexico to "restore order" when anything goes wrong there and so much engaged in lamentations over the shortcomings of smaller neighbor peoples, would do well to turn their eyes for a while to West Virginia and at the same time turn their thoughts inward. For nearly a year and a half a large section of that State, lying directly in the path of the westward movement of the colonists who first started from the seaboard back through the hills, has been in a condition of virtual anarchy, in which many lives have been lost and much property destroyed.

It is not necessary here to attempt to assess blame, but there are facts standing out in this situation that make it an indictment against us. It is undoubtedly true that miners in the Mingo fields have killed men

from ambush and have sought to wreck the property of their employers. And many of these miners are descendants of the earliest colonial stock—the stock which, we tell ourselves, has been the advance guard of civilization and of free and orderly government. On the other hand, it is undoubtedly true that the operators in the Mingo fields, and probably to a greater extent in the fields in adjoining counties, have at times ruthlessly used the forces of a powerful private detective agency to impose their will in various matters upon the miners. In some respects this great detective agency has been a sort of extragovernmental force in that district. Meanwhile the State of West Virginia, carved out of the Old Dominion, inheriting much of her great tradition and principle, vastly rich, has been practically impotent. The miners have virtually charged the State with impotence, in defending their dangerous steps as necessary for their protection; the coal operators have virtually charged it with impotence in defending their employment of private detectives to do things that only the government should do; and the government of West Virginia has admitted its impotence repeatedly, calling upon the Federal Government for troops to maintain order, the calls finally provoking from the Harding administration a refusal, and notice that States should perform their own police functions.

Suppose that happened in a State in Mexico. Suppose it happened in any other near-by country; and suppose there were large American interests there. What a tremendous uproar there would be for intervention, for the establishment of order by American arms! What a tremendous outcry there would be as to the incapacity of the natives for self-government, as to the duty of a strong nation like the United States to take charge! It is no defense of disorder elsewhere to say that we have disorder at home, but assuredly that disorder at home does, or should, teach us a certain modesty in our attitude toward our backward neighbors, and it should remind us of the homely duty of putting our own house in order.

Propagandists for American intervention in Mexico, on the ground that it is our manifest destiny to impose our civilization upon the Mexicans, should be reminded of such troubles as these in West Virginia, of the peonage in Georgia, of the Tulsa riots, and the too many similar occurrences in the United States. It may be necessary before many months have passed for the American people to maintain their sense of proportion with respect to the Mexican troubles. The relative peace that prevails in Mexico now may give way to new irritations, and there are signs that if that should occur, there will be forces and agencies seeking to arouse the American people to approval of intervention. If such forces and

agencies appear, the American people should make them stand and talk as what they really are. If they are sincere in the idea that we should rush in to correct Mexico's troubles for her, they might be reminded of our humiliating troubles at home. If they are insincere, and are the agents of selfish interests masquerading as the champions of civilization, they should be stripped of their disguise. West Virginia's troubles, added to those of Georgia and Tulsa, should make us hesitate to assume a "holier than thou" attitude.

## THE FAMINE

THE FAMINE situation in Russia has melted the heart of the world. Even in France, in which there has probably been a greater bitterness against the Soviet Government and all that it represents than anywhere else in the world, the spectacle of millions of human beings starving or dying of dreadful diseases has overcome the hatred, and the French have indicated to the other nations that they will co-operate in extending relief. In this country Secretary Hoover, who is credited with having been most influential in persuading the Harding administration that no relations of value could be established with the Soviets because of the economic stagnation they had produced in Russia, has taken the lead in extending American relief. While he told Maxim Gorky that release of all American prisoners in Russia was a condition precedent to relief from America, Mr. Hoover actually started the machinery moving for the extending of help by the American Relief Administration before all of the American prisoners actually were out of Russia. And his cablegram to Gorky, apart from the emphatic demand for the release of the Americans, was pregnant of the profound pity that has stirred all hearts.

It is difficult to ascertain the exact measure of suffering, especially as some of the Russian authorities attempt to show that the Soviet Government is not inadequate to handle the situation, and thereby they appear to minimize the famine. However, it seems perfectly clear that the number in distress runs into many millions, and it is probable that the original figure given in press dispatches, twenty millions, is not far wrong. The statement published in the *Internationale* in Paris early this month, purporting to have come direct from the authorities in Russia, states that the famine area covers ten provinces, the population of which is about eighteen millions. That in itself tells the story, whatever variations there may be in the attempts to fix exact figures and exact locations.

To make matters worse, the reports indicate that the transportation system of Russia has declined steadily in